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29 APRIL 1975

Assassinations By CIA? Helms Doubts Reports

By JOSEPH VOLZ

Washington, April 28 (News Bureau)—Former CIA Director Richard M. Helms was examined for hours today by the Rockefeller Commission about charges that the spy agency had carried out assassinations of foreign leaders. Afterward, the bitterly denounced a TV newsman who had reported the story.

"As far as K know," he said, "the CIA was never responsible for the assassination of any foreign leader. That is my honest belief," Helms, now U.S. ambassador to Iran, spent 3½ hours before the commission, the longest time of any of the 44 witnesses who have testified during the panel's 16-week probe of the agency.

Helms was followed to the witness chair by the present CIA director, William E. Colby.

Sees False Reporting

CBS reporter Daniel Schorr of false reports concerning CIA involvement in foreign assassinations. It was Schorr who first reported that Presidetn Ford was concerned that the CIA investigation would disclose that the spy agency had a role in the assassination of three foreign leaders.

"Killer Schorr! Killer Schorr!" Helms said loudly as he walked down the hallway with reporters, following his appearance before the Rockefeller commission.

Later, during a press conference when Schorr asked a question on a subject unrelated to the assassinations, Helms would only reply: "I don't like some of the lies you've been putting on the air."

Bristles at Question

Helms bristled when reporters asked him if there had ever been discussions in the CIA plotting the assassinations of foreign leaders.

"That's like asking me if I've stopped beating my wife," Helms said. "There were always discussions of everything. Two men may have sat in the State Department or the Defense Department and discussed things that may not be acceptable to the American people. That happens all the time."

Helms was asked to comment on reports that former President Johnson told several colleagues he believed the assassination of John F. Kennedy was in retaliation for a CIA plot aimed at Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

"I don't know why President Johnson siad these things," Helms said.

Helms said he had been quizzed on a wide range of subjects by the commission. He did not elaborate. However, the commission staff has had a chance to analyze Helms' preivous testimony and there may have been some discrepancies that they wished to question him about

CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM
RELEASE IN FULL

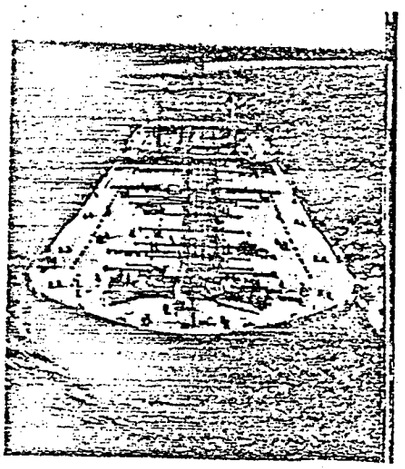
JFK ACT
RELEASE

NEWSWEEK
5 MAY 1975

DID KISSINGER DEEP-SIX THE NEWS?

Twice during the past year, Henry Kissinger squelched Pentagon plans to release information involving American and Russian submarines for fear the stories would damage U.S.-Soviet relations, according to Defense Department sources. The Pentagon insists Kissinger blocked release of facts about the CIA effort to raise the sunken Russian sub in the Pacific and news about a 1974 collision between the U.S. submarine James Madison and a Soviet sub in the North Sea. Defense officials were ready to take a bow for the recovery of the Russian sub; most accidents at sea are routinely made public.

ARAB TANKERS?



Washington is trying to head off a new threat that could make another oil embargo even more painful than the last. The CIA has determined that oil-producing countries are now going all-out to buy tankers idled by the world's glut of oil. Fleet owners, who in the U.S. are hard-pressed even to find berthing space for unused ships, are eager to sell. To avoid the possibility of both oil and tankers in hostile hands, the Ford Administration is considering new subsidies to the U.S. tanker industry to ensure that vessels would be available in another embargo.

HOWARD HUGHES, PROP.

Howard Hughes, the phantom billionaire, has been given a new code name at the Summa Corp., the Los Angeles firm that is his corporate alter ego. Summa executives refer to their sole owner, not by name, but simply as "the stockholder."

NEW YORK TIMES

29 APR 1975

Helms Terms Newsman 'Killer' For Hint of Murders by C.I.A.

WASHINGTON, April 28 (UPI) —Richard M. Helms, former Director of Central Intelligence, denounced a newsman today for reporting charges that the Central Intelligence Agency carried out the assassination of foreign leaders.

Mr. Helms made the comments to reporters after an appearance of nearly three hours before the Rockefeller commission—the longest appearance by any of the 44 witnesses who have testified during its 16-week investigation of the C.I.A.

The target of Mr. Helms's attack was Daniel Schorr, the CBS newsman, who first reported that President Ford was concerned that the C.I.A.'s investigation would reveal that the agency had a role in the assassination of at le-st three foreign leaders.

"Killer Schorr! Killer Schorr!" Mr. Helms said loudly as he walked down the hallway with reporters after his appearance before the Presidential commission that is headed by Vice President Rockefeller.

Objects To 'Lies'

In a news conference later, when Mr. Schorr asked a question on a subject unrelated to the alleged assassinations, Mr. Helms would only answer:

"I like some of the lies you've been putting on the air. I just want to say one thing—I don't know of any foreign leader that was ever assassinted by the C.I.A. That's my honest belief."

Mr. Helms bristled when newsmen asked him if there had ever been discussions in the C.I.A. plotting the assassinations of foreign leaders.

"That's like asking me if I've stopped beating my wife," Mr. Helms said. "There were always discussions of everything. Two men may have sat in the State Department or the Defense Department and discussed things that may not be acceptable to the American people. That happens all the time."

Mr. Helms refused to comment on reports that the late President Johnson told several colleagues that he believed the assassination of President Kennedy in 1963 was in retaliation for a C.I.A. plot aimed at Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba.

"I don't know why President Johnson said these things," Mr. Helms said.

Besides being accused of plotting to kill the Cuban Premier, the C.I.A. has allegedly been involved in a plot to assassinate President Francois Duvalier of Haiti and in the assassinations of Rafael L. Trujillo, head of the Dominican Republic, and of Premier Patrice Lumumba of the Congo.

Mr. Helms, now the United States Ambassador to Iran, was Director of Central Intelligence from 1966 to 1973.

In addition to the alleged assassinations, the Rockefeller commission is investigating reports that, during the antiwar protests in the late nineteen-sixties, the C.I.A. was engaged in a massive domestic spying program that is illegal under the agency's charter.

Mr. Helms said his testimony "covered all kinds of subjects—Cuba, Vietnam—anything you can imagine."

He said he had spent two days preparing with the staff of the Rockefeller commission and then appeared before the full panel "for a reaffirmation of what I covered with the staff."

ASHINGTON STAR
1 MAY 1975

GARRY WILLS

A Word for Warren Commission

It is time to say a word for the Warren Commission. Even those who believe that Oswald was the sole assassin of President Kennedy are beginning to grant that the Warren Commission did a bad job. They say we should "reopen the case," if for no other reason, just to resolve doubts caused by sloppy detective work. But most doubts are caused by two classes of men — those who have not really read what the Warren Commission said and those whose doubts would not be resolved by the Second Coming (which they would treat as a CIA plot).

The attacks on the Warren Commission come from three main directions:

1. Some think the commission was part of the plot itself. These people are at least consistent. If one could mobilize all the resources most conspiratorial theories demand, then controlling the commission should have been no problem at all. But this, like most such theories, proves too much. If one can "control" a chief justice, a future president, a bunch of prominent lawyers on the make, an attorney general who happens to be the assassinated man's brother, then one controls everything, and there is no longer any need to hide — i.e., to be a conspiracy.

2. Others think the CIA and/or the FBI bamboozled the commission — which is a rather touching exercise in credulity. Even if those agencies were efficient, they would have to tread carefully where so many other factions and rival interests were at play — and where the results were going to be published in 26 volumes. But, of course, the record of both the FBI and the CIA is enough to make any criticism of the commission look like praise. If the conspiracy depended on the FBI and the CIA, then Howard Hunt's whole career tells us what would have happened to it.

3. Others, by far the most numerous, think the commission just fumbled the job out of haste, incompetence or unconscious prejudices. Most of the evidence for this is the citing of "leads" that the commission did not track down. In fact, many of these were tracked down, or were patently false leads from the start.

A fair example is Mark Lane's use of testimony by Nancy Perrin Rich. He devoted a whole chapter of this book to this woman's bizarre tale. He neglected to tell the readers that the same woman appeared two other times, in two different places, to volunteer evidence to the commission. The investigators listened politely, though she told three totally different stories. At one of these appearances, deliberately omitted from Lane's chapter, she took (and flunked) a polygraph test.

Ovid Demaris and I, back in the '60s, took Lane's advice and followed up this woman's testimony. We found that she was an unstable woman, had been in and out of psychiatric care and police stations, that she loved to "testify" about all her famous friends in mob trials and other celebrated crimes. We also found that Lane knew all this, that he told the woman's husband he would not be able to make anything of her testimony. But he made an entire tendentious chapter out of one third of that testimony.

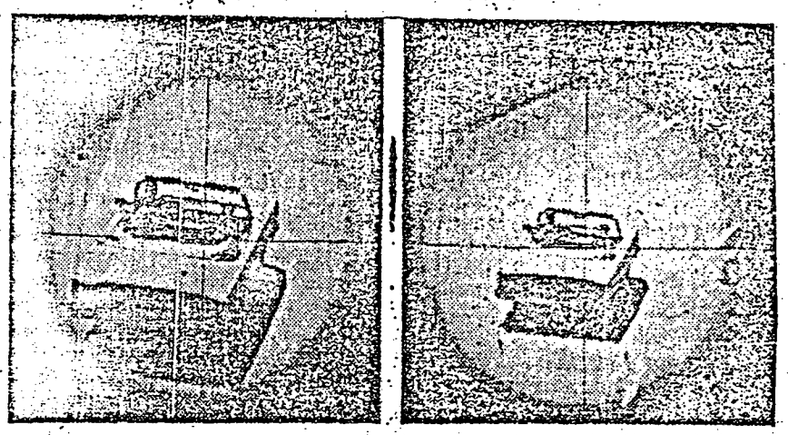
Here is a simple rule of thumb for dealing with conspiratorialists: If they question the integrity of the Warren Commission yet quote Mark Lane with approval, they are intellectually very ill-equipped or intellectually dishonest.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER
30 APR 1975

Gnawing cynicism

Reopen the JFK assassination probe

By SMITH HEMPSTONE



WASHINGTON — One of the consequences of the Watergate disaster, like the fall of Vietnam, clearly is going to be a reopening of the investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy.

This is less a matter of the availability of new evidence than the simple fact that, after Watergate, even reasonably normal people are no longer prepared to believe what their government or its creatures — in this case, the Warren Commission — tell them.

Each of us can remember where we were on that fateful morning of Nov. 22, 1963.

And while there have been king-killers ever since there have been kings, the enormity of the crime of regicide — the killing of the man who personifies the state — still fills us with awe and horror.

Something deep inside us makes it difficult for us to accept the Warren Commission's finding that the assassin was Lee Harvey Oswald and that he acted alone. Why?

It is true that there are flaws, gaps and unanswered (and perhaps unanswerable) questions that arise out of the supposition that Oswald was the killer, that he acted alone and that he was in no one's pay. Very little, for instance, has been done to establish a motive.

But it is equally true that there are similar and in most cases greater flaws, gaps and unanswered questions in all the other mutually contradictory hypotheses: one of several killers in the pay of the CIA, the FBI, Big Oil, the family of Ngo Dinh Diem, the Mafia or the KGB.

There have been nearly 30 books written on the subject of the Kennedy assassination. Many of them seem plausible if you are prepared to substitute theory for fact, supposition for evidence.

The Warren Commission, upon which President Ford served, almost certainly was well-intentioned, clearly was unwieldly and probably, in an effort to lay a national tragedy to rest, acted too hastily. Despite the enormous difficulties in establishing the truth, particularly after Oswald's own murder at the hand of Jack Ruby, the commission completed its bulky, disorganized 26-volume report within 10 months.

And, especially in the light of the Watergate cover-up (which it, of course, could not anticipate), the Warren Commission, out of a humane consideration for the sensibilities of the Kennedy family, committed a terrible error in allowing evidence derived from the autopsy to be sequestered.

This, combined with some of the admittedly bizarre aspects of Oswald's history — his sojourn in the Soviet Union, his alleged visits to Cuba, the fact of an FBI agent's name appearing in the notebook he was carrying when arrested in Dallas — only served to trigger the various conspiracy theories.

There is no real reason to believe that a new investigation will bring us any closer to the truth about what happened and why on that sad and brilliant day in Dallas a dozen years ago. But the gnawing cynicism about government bred of Watergate makes it important that the case be reopened.

Rep. Henry Gonzalez of Texas, who is asking for just that, ought to have his way, even if in the end we know very little more than we do at present.

HUMAN EVENTS
3 MAY 1975

Book Review

Another 'Conspiracy' Book About JFK's Assassination

By CARL A. KEYSER

The publicity blurb for *The Tears of Autumn* states that, in addition to being somewhat of a world traveler, its author, Charles McCarry, was chief speech writer for Henry Cabot Lodge in the 1960 campaign. Since Henry Cabot Lodge is remembered more for having slept through the campaign than for having made rousing speeches, this credit would better have remained unmentioned.

Interestingly, Henry Cabot Lodge is also remembered as being in charge of JFK's Saigon bungle which resulted in the murders of the brothers Diem and Nhu. All of which brings us back to *The Tears of Autumn*.

A rumor in Saigon at the time of the coup held that the Ngo Dinhs were liquidated because they were playing footsie with Hanoi. McCarry devotes three lines to this, which is about two lines more than it deserves. The rumor, however, convinced some doubters on the scene that the assassinations were justified.

The real reason the Ngos were removed is that the Knights of Camelot were persuaded to believe that Diem was no more than a self-seeking petty dictator and Nhu was a mere chief of a brutal secret police force. Not much imagination is needed to guess the source of this characterization. The usual charges of corruption, Swiss bank accounts and police brutality were made, and the Knights succeeded in convincing President Kennedy that this appraisal was accurate. Diem and Nhu had to go.

A plot in August had failed, but the one in November would not. In the meantime, an embarrassing visitor showed up in the United States.

The Tiger Lady, the glamorous wife of Nhu and President Diem's state hostess, arrived from Europe where she had been warmly received. (Even in Communist Yugoslavia at the Parliamentary Congress she was given a standing ovation.) Official Washington, from the President on down, constrained by guilt and shame over the as-yet unexecuted conspiracy, did not greet her. The State Department acknowledged her presence, however, by calling a conference of editors urging that she be buried on page 22. CBS responded by canceling her appearance on "Face the Nation," and the press generally showered her with derision.

On November 1, the Ngos were overthrown. The following day, Diem and Nhu, hands cuffed behind them, were shot. The Tiger Lady said, "If you have the Kennedy Administration for an ally, you don't need an enemy."

Twenty days after the murders in Saigon there was a murder in Dallas. The Tiger Lady, bitter over the earlier assassination of her husband and her brother-in-law, commented that justice had been served, or words to that effect.

McCarry has expanded this theme, using an ex-CIA man as his vehicle for running down yet another "true" story of Kennedy's death, how the Ngo family avenged the murders of Diem and Nhu, how Oswald was recruited, and how and why Jack Ruby was recruited to eliminate Oswald. The tale is gripping and implausible enough to make a good movie script.

In order to explain why the avengers were busy recruiting Oswald in late September one month before they had anything to avenge, McCarry has to introduce horoscopes, geomantics and other astrological nonsense. This business enables the avengers to outdo even Jeanne Dixon. They are able to predict not only that they will have something to avenge, but who they will have to kill (JFK), where (Dallas), and when (November 22).

McCarry also suggests that the Russians recruited Ruby (courtesy of the Mafia, but without the Godfather's O.K.) to kill Oswald and thereby "take the heat off" themselves. If this is what the Russians were interested in, it is the least thing they would have done.

Anatoli A. Gromyko (yes, Andrei's son) in his *Through Russian Eyes, President Kennedy's 1,036 Days* asks the question, "How could it happen that the ... apparent perpetrator of the crime was liquidated literally before the eyes of everyone, and, naturally, can no longer furnish evidence?"

The jacket of McCarry's book hints that it should be taken seriously. Come now. If that's the case, then McCarry joins Harold Weisberg, Thomas Buchanan, Fred Cook, Sylvan Fox, Edward Epstein, and a host of others who have advanced their own, sometimes wild, theories of what really happened in Dallas.

If McCarry's story is taken simply as a *Day of the Jackal* tale, it's pretty good reading, though not a masterpiece. Metaphors are blurred and similes strained. The reader grows weary, occasionally wary, of pompous name dropping, not so much of people as of wine, food and places.

Programed sex, *á la* Masters and Johnson, intrudes as an extraneous distraction in imitation of today's crummy literature. The hero's character is not entirely even. He is both a good guy and a CIA man, a currently extinct species. He wouldn't think of using a gun, but he is not beyond asking his agents to use a little close-range bird shot in the face, said not to be fatal but capable of much gore, temporary blindness and "a lot of pain and shock." You'd better believe it.

He wouldn't support a regime that tortures political prisoners, yet he isn't above kidnapping and torturing his own victims. He is an "entirely sentimental" man, interested solely in the facts, ma'am. Yet he manages to develop a maudlin middle-class affection for his erstwhile bedmate of convenience as well as a sentimental passion for his dead President and his country. Even ex-CIA men can't be all bad.

McCarry solves all the mysteries surrounding the deaths of Diem, Nhu and Kennedy excepting one. Who in the world did E. Howard Hunt expect to convince, who wasn't already convinced, when he fooled around with those cables to Saigon? But that's no real criticism. After all, John Dean couldn't answer that one.

Prof. Keyser was born in Washington, D.C., but escaped unharmed to New England, where he has lived since 1946. His moral decline started when he became an assistant dean of a college. Undaunted, he managed to work himself down to Commonwealth Professor Emeritus and retired in 1968 from the University of Massachusetts when shouting and shooting again seemed imminent.

WASHINGTON STAR
30 APRIL 1975

Colonel Claims Plot Against Castro

Did CIA Fly Killers to Cuba?

Associated Press

The CIA airlifted a two-man assassination team into Cuba in an unsuccessful attempt to kill Premier Fidel Castro, a retired Air Force colonel says.

L. Fletcher Prouty said yesterday that in "late 1959 or early 1960," while serving in the Defense Department's Office of Special Operations, he handled a CIA request for a small, specially equipped Air Force plane that was used to land two Cuban exiles on a road near Havana.

The two exiles were "equipped with a high-powered rifle and telescopic sights" and "knew how to get to a building in Havana which overlooked a building where Castro passed daily," Prouty, now an official with Amtrak, said in a telephone interview.

THE PLANE, an L28 "heliocourier," returned safely to Eglin Air Force Base in Florida, Prouty said, but the "Cuban exiles as far as I know were picked up between where they were left off and town."

He said that one of the would-be assassins was named Oscar Spijo and that the plane had been flown by "mercenaries" on the CIA payroll.

Prouty added that he knew of "one or two" other assassination attempts to against Castro following the Bay of Pigs but said he did not know the details of those missions because he had not worked on them directly.

Prouty retired from the Air Force in 1963 and has since written a book called "The Secret Team," detailing his experiences as Air Force liaison with the CIA.

Asked why he had waited until now to come forward with his story, Prouty said he had become incensed at the verbal abuse directed at CBS newsman Daniel Schorr on Monday by former CIA Director Richard M. Helms.

HAVING JUST emerged from 3½ hours of questioning by the Rockefeller Commission, Helms denounced Schorr with profanities and referred to him as "Killer Schorr" for reporting that the "CIA goes around killing people."

Schorr has reported on a number of occasions that President Ford is concerned that an unlimited investigation of CIA activities could uncover agency involvement in foreign assassinations.

"It got me a little upset," Prouty said of Helms' attack on Schorr, adding that he was "positive" Helms knew about the mission.

At the time, Helms was an assistant to CIA Deputy Director of Plans Richard Bissel. But Prouty said Bissel was preoccupied with directing U2 flights over the Soviet Union, leaving Helms in almost total control of clandestine operations against Cuba.

Helms, who succeeded Bissell as head of the agency's so-called "dirty tricks" department and headed the CIA from 1966 to 1973, told reporters Monday that "as far as I know the CIA was never responsible for the assassination of any foreign leader," a statement which technically does not rule out the possibility of an unsuccessful attempt on Castro's life.

HELMS ALSO was asked if there had been any discussions of assassinations. He replied that "in government there are always discussions of everything under the sun."

When a reporter responded that Helms hadn't answered the specific question, Helms snapped back: "I'm not trying to answer your question."

Bissell, who left the agency following the Bay of Pigs fiasco, said in a recent interview that there had been high-level discussions about killing Castro but that plans had been vetoed by then-CIA Director Allen Dulles.

WASHINGTON POST
30 APRIL 1975

Held as Spy

WEST BERLIN — A 29-year-old West German who worked as a chauffeur for the United States military authorities here has been arrested on suspicion of spying for an East European country, a Justice Ministry spokesman said.

The man, Werner Schalitz, was carrying plans of U.S. installations, information about military personnel and a forged Swiss pasport when police arrested him last Thursday, the spokesman said. Schalitz has reportedly denied the accusation.

Castro Death Plot Linked to '62 Crisis

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

A once high-ranking Defense Department official said yesterday that he drafted contingency plans for dealing with the 1962 Cuban missile crisis that "may" have included Fidel Castro's assassination.

The former official, Maj. Gen. Edward G. Lansdale (USAF-retired), hinted strongly, but refused to confirm, that the orders to draw up the plans came from the late Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

An expert in counterinsurgency tactics with long experience in South Vietnam and the Philippines, Lansdale said he was told to do "some planning for the President's consideration" about how to deal with Castro in light of reports that Soviet-made nuclear missiles were about to be installed in Cuba.

He said it was quite possible that the assassination of Castro was among the options he listed in a subsequent memo, but he said he no longer had a copy of the memo and thus could not definitely recall whether he included that in his suggestions.

Lansdale insisted, however, that "neither President Kennedy or any other Kennedy ever gave me any orders to plan the assassination of Castro."

EDWARD G. LANSDALE
. . . hints RFK role

"All I was doing was to try to respond and come up

See CASTRO, A4, Col. 7

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Cuban premier.

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Similarly, Lans
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he sent his memo

WP 31 May 75

Death Plot Tied to Crisis

CASTRO, From A1

with what was practical and what wasn't," he said in a telephone interview. "Who knows? I might have listed all sorts of possibilities and that [Castro's assassination] might have been one of them."

Castro has said that repeated attempts were made on his life and the lives of other high-ranking Cuban officials—some of them engineered by the Central Intelligence Agency—after he became premier in 1959.

Investigations of the CIA now under way have also compiled mounting evidence that both President John F. Kennedy and his brother, Robert, who were later cut down by assassins, were well aware of proposals to kill the Cuban leader.

High-ranking officials of the Eisenhower administration are also believed to have been involved in earlier assassination schemes.

A source close to the Rockefeller commission, which is investigating CIA violations of domestic law, said yesterday that there were not only repeated high-level discussions of Castro's assassination during the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations, "but there's also evidence of overt acts —overt, covert acts, I guess you'd call them"—to kill the Cuban premier.

One of the schemes, according to other informed sources, involved the CIA's recruiting of Mafia figures Sam Giancana, who had pre-Castro interests in Cuba, and Johnny Roselli, Giancana's West Coast lieutenant, during the waning days of the Eisenhower administration.

Although he was apparently not aware of any plot against Castro, the late J. Edgar Hoover, then director of the FBI, alerted Robert Kennedy in May, 1961, that the CIA was involved in backstage dealings with the Mafia.

A warning memo from Hoover, sources said, was apparently prompted by the FBI's discovery in the fall of 1960 of the CIA-sponsored surveillance of comedian Dan Rowan, a rival with Giancana at the time for the affections of singer Phyllis McGuire.

Robert Kennedy reportedly responded to the secret Hoover memo by ordering that it be "followed up vigorously." The Attorney General was eventually briefed by top CIA officials, apparently in 1962, on what Giancana and Roselli had done for the agency.

The Attorney General's only response, one source said, was to tell the CIA representatives, "next time you deal with the Mafia come to me first."

Lansdale was said to have drafted his plans later, after an Aug. 10, 1962, meeting of a special group at which Castro's assassination was discussed but dismissed.

According to the Associated Press, the meeting was attended by then-Secretary of Defense Robert F. McNamara; Dean Rusk, then Secretary of State; John A. McCone, then CIA director, and McGeorge Bundy, President Kennedy's adviser on national security affairs. Robert Kennedy, the fifth member of the special group, was reportedly absent.

Listed as a top assistant to McNamara at the time, Lansdale was told after the meeting to come up with proposals, as he put it, about "what to do with a leader who had threatened the lives of millions of Americans by placing missiles aimed at this country."

Responding to questions, Lansdale said the orders came not from McNamara but from "someone much more intimate" with the President.

Asked whether it was Robert Kennedy, he said, "All the signs point to that, don't they?" He declined, however, to be more precise.

"I don't want to get into a sort of smearing thing right now for any individuals or any political partisans," Lansdale said.

He said he might have listed Castro's assassination as a possibility, especially "if I saw a lot of American lives at stake and casualties that could run into the millions." But he said he was positive that "I never had any part in planning any details."

Similarly, Lansdale said he did not recall to whom he sent his memo, nor did he know whether President Kennedy ever saw it. Lansdale agreed, however, that he doubtless dispatched a copy to the official who told him to draw up the plans.

The Cuban missile crisis ended on Oct. 28, 1962, when Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev announced that he had ordered a stop to work on the Cuban bases and was having the missiles crated and returned to the Soviet Union.

Lansdale said that none of his suggestions "came to any fruition." At the same time, other accounts suggest that the idea of Castro's assassination was not at all new to the White House.

Watergate burglar E. Howard Hunt Jr., a former CIA officer, has said he proposed it in the spring of 1960, during the early planning for the Bay of Pigs invasion.

A former Defense Department intelligence officer, L. Fletcher Prouty, has said the CIA dispatched a two-man assassination team to Cuba even earlier than that, also while Eisenhower was President.

According to journalist Tad Szulc, then with The New York Times, President Kennedy raised the thought with him during a private conversation in November, 1961. Szulc said he told him it was a bad idea and quoted Kennedy as responding: "I'm glad you feel that way because suggestions to that effect keep coming to me, and I believe very strongly that the United States should not be a party to political assassination."

The Rockefeller Commission is expected to deal with the controversy in its forthcoming report to President Ford.

NEW YORK TIMES
1 MAY 1975

C.I.A. PLOT TO KILL CASTRO DESCRIBED

Agency Flew 2 Assassins to Cuba, Ex-Colonel Says

WASHINGTON, April 27, (AP) —The Central Intelligence Agency flew a two-man assassination team into Cuba in an unsuccessful attempt to kill Premier Fidel Castro, a retired Air Force colonel said Tuesday.

The colonel, L. Fletcher Prouty, said that in "late 1959 or early 1960," while he was serving in the Defense Department's Office of Special Operations, he handled a C.I.A. request for a small, specially equipped Air Force plane that was used to land two Cuban exiles on a road near Havana.

The two exiles were "equipped with a high-powered rifle and telescopic sights" and "knew how to get to a building in Havana which overlooked a building where Castro passed daily," Colonel Prouty, now an official with Amtrak, said in a telephone interview.

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Colonel Prouty added that he knew of "one or two" other assassination attempts against the Cuban Premier after the Bay of Pigs operation in 1961, but said he did not know the details of those missions because he had not worked on them directly.

Colonel Prouty retired from the Air Force in 1963 and has since written a book called "The Secret Team," detailing his experiences as Air Force liaison with the C.I.A. [The book did not include the Castro assassination report.]

Asked why he had waited until now to come forward with his story, Colonel Prouty said he had become incensed at the verbal abuse directed Monday at Daniel Schorr, a CBS newsman, by Richard M. Helms, former Director of Central Intelligence.

Mr. Helms, who had just emerged from three and a half hours of questioning by the Rockefeller commission, denounced the newsman and referred to him as "Killer Schorr" for reporting that the "C.I.A. goes around killing people."

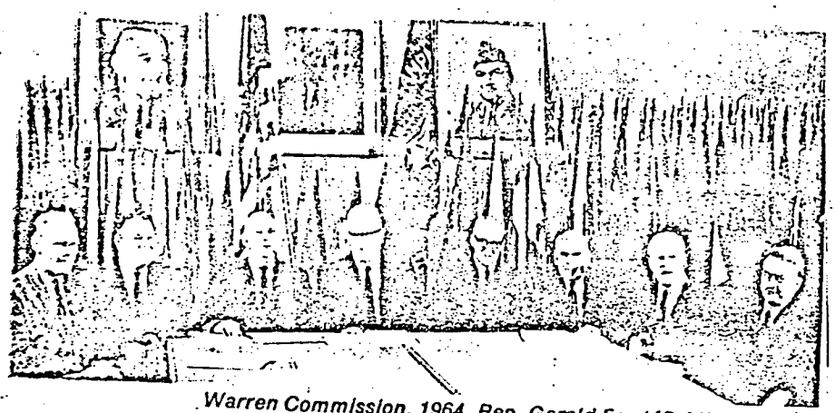
Mr. Schorr has reported on a number of occasions that President Ford is concerned that an unlimited investigation of C.I.A. activities could uncover agency involvement in foreign assassinations.

"It got me a little upset," Colonel Prouty said of Mr. Helms's criticism of Mr. Schorr, adding that he was "positive" Mr. Helms know about the mission.

At the time, Mr. Helms—now the United States Ambassador to Iran—was an assistant to Richard Bissel, then the agency's deputy director of plans. But Colonel Prouty said Mr. Bissell was preoccupied with directing U-2 flights over the Soviet Union, leaving Mr. Helms in almost total control Helms in almost total control of clandestine operations against Cuba.

Mr. Bissell, who left the agency after the Bay of Pigs operation, said in a recent interview that there had been high-level discussions about killing the Cuban Premier but that the plans had been vetoed by Allen Dulles, then Director of Central Intelligence.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
9 APRIL 1975



Warren Commission, 1964. Rep. Gerald Ford [R-Mich.] on left.

KENNEDY SHOOTING STILL HAUNTS RULING CIRCLES

By JOSE TORRES

In the wake of the Watergate and CIA exposures, another "skeleton" in the ruling class' "closet" is being exposed to the light of day.

These exposures, together with the current crisis of imperialism, have undermined the government's credibility to such an extent that the American people no longer take anything for granted. The most recent victim of the credibility gap is the Warren Commission's "official" version of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in Dallas almost 12 years ago.

According to a recent Gallup Poll, a majority of Americans no longer believe the Warren Commission's report which concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald was the sole assassin.

The disbelief, combined with charges that the CIA was responsible for the assassination, has even led the Rockefeller Commission on the CIA to take up the question of the agency's role in the assassination.

Political activist Dick Gregory, who says he has evidence linking the CIA to Kennedy's death, has testified before the commission headed by Vice President Rockefeller.

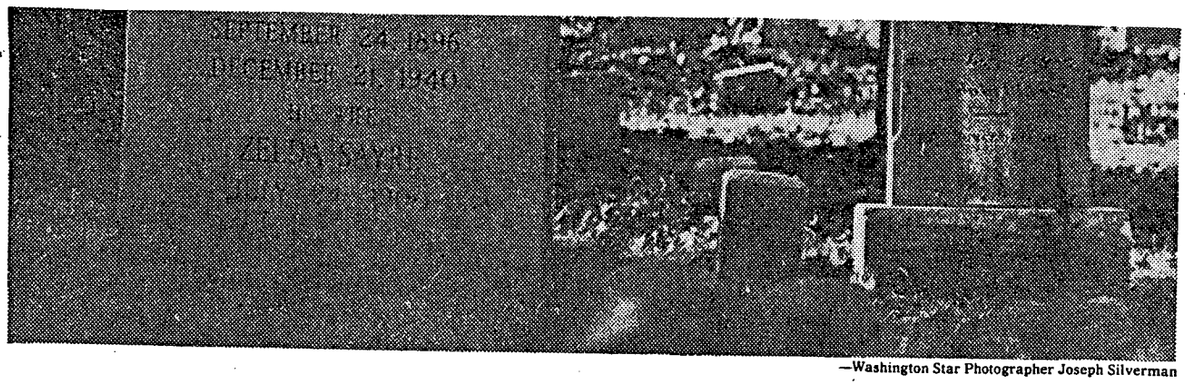
Gregory claims that E. Howard Hunt was caught by Dallas police at the site of the assassination minutes after it happened. Hunt, convicted two years ago in connection with the Watergate bugging, was a CIA agent at the time Kennedy was killed.

Gregory's case rests on a photograph published last year in underground newspapers which allegedly shows Hunt and Frank A. Sturgis, also convicted in connection with Watergate and believed to have been a CIA employe, being led away by Dallas policemen from a grassy knoll across the street from the Texas school book depository. Oswald allegedly shot the president from the depository, as the presidential motorcade had passed by. Many who challenge the Warren Commission account contend that the fatal shots were actually fired from the grassy knoll area, somewhat to the side and in front of the approaching presidential motorcade.

Film footage taken by an amateur photographer of the assassination, and shown recently over national television, shows the president's head jerking back violently, suggesting that at least one shot came from in front of the motorcade, not behind.

Many different pieces of "evidence" have been put together by individuals over the years. The latest "proof" is based on analysis of tape recordings of Oswald's voice by a new device, used to a certain extent by some law enforcement agencies, that can determine the truth or falsehood of a person's statements much like a polygraph (lie detector). Oswald's statements to television and radio reporters after he was in custody of police that he was not responsible for the Kennedy assassination were analyzed and the results showed that he was telling the truth.

The assassinations of not only John Kennedy but also Robert Kennedy and leaders of the people's movements—Malcolm X, Fred Hampton, and Martin Luther King—was the subject of a conference on the "Politics of Conspiracy" held in Boston early this year. The conference brought together over 150 people from every section of the country and was sponsored by the Cambridge Mass.-based Assassinations Investigation Bureau (AIB). Though generally united on purpose, the conference reflected a difference in views between those who put forward a conspiracy theory of history and those with an anti-imperialist perspective.



—Washington Star Photographer Joseph Silverman

F. Scott Fitzgerald's grave site in Rockville, Md.

F. Scott Fitzgerald to Get His Wish

Associated Press

The remains of F. Scott Fitzgerald and his wife, Zelda, will be moved next month to a Roman Catholic cemetery in Rockville that 35 years ago rejected the famous author as unsuitable for burial there.

Fitzgerald, author of "The Great Gatsby," "Tender is the Night" and "This Side of Paradise," told friends he wanted to be buried in St. Mary's Cemetery, where his Rockville-born father was buried in 1931.

But when the author died in 1940 at the age of 44, his request was denied by the Catholic Church on grounds that he was not a practicing Catholic and that his books were not the kind of reading material that found favor with church officials.

The author's body was buried instead in an inconspicuous grave in the Rockville Cemetery, also known as the old Union Cemetery, across the road from St. Mary's.

ZELDA FITZGERALD, who died in a North Carolina sanitarium, was buried next to her husband in 1948.

For 35 years the grave has been a shrine for students of literature, Fitzgerald admirers, old romantics and young lovers.

People still place flowers and deliver cards and occasional wedding announcements to the gravesite, now shrouded by pines and oaks. Lettering on the square headstone has been worn down by the weather.

Speaking of the present gravesite, Frances Fitzgerald Lanahan Smith, Fitzgerald's daughter, said in a letter to Rockville officials:

"For 35 years the grave has remained uncared for and hopelessly unaccessible to the interested public.

"WE HAVE ARRANGED to move the remains from the old Union Cemetery to the family plot in St. Mary's."

According to a priest at St. Mary's Church, Mrs. Smith received permission for the move from the Catholic Archdiocese of Washington.

Msgr. John Donahue, chancellor of the archdiocese, granted the request because, according to a spokesman, "other members of the family were already interred at the (St. Mary's) site."

Mrs. Smith, a Washington resident, could not be reached for comment. She will be hostess at a luncheon Nov. 7 following a graveside service to mark the moving of the Fitzgeralds' remains.

Rockefeller Asks U.S. Move After N.Y.C. Reduces Debt

By Steven R. Weisman
New York Times News Service

NEW YORK — Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller last night called for swift congressional action to assist New York City, once Mayor Abraham D. Beame and the new State Emergency Financial Con-

on the question of assistance to New York City, the White House spokesman said: "I'll let you be the judge of that."

ROCKEFELLER also did not say how much of the city's $800 million deficit would h[illegible] to be eliminated this [illegible]

make "politically unpopular decisions" to restore the city to fiscal soundness.

ROCKEFELLER'S speech marked the first time that any high federal official has taken note of the state's and the city's efforts thus far as leading to "a solid base" for restoring

Anti-Castro Cubans Link to Assassination?

Schweiker, Hart Ask JFK Probe Review

By Norman Kempster
Washington Star Staff Writer

Senate investigators intend to reexamine circumstantial evidence that anti-Castro Cubans or domestic right wingers may have played a role in the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

The Warren Commission considered possible conspiracies from both the left and right but determined that Lee Harvey Oswald was the lone assassin.

Sen. Richard S. Schweiker, R-Pa., said the commission seems to have given less credence than now seems warranted to the possibility that there may have been some right-wing link to the crime despite Oswald's often-stated Communist sympathies.

SCHWEIKER AND Sen. Gary Hart, D-Colo., are serving as a subcommittee of the Senate Intelligence Committee to probe the adequacy of the FBI and CIA investigation of the killing.

Schweiker said in a recent interview that he is interested in evidence that J. A. Milteer, an official of the the militant right-wing National States Rights party, told an FBI informer two weeks before the assassination that Kennedy would be killed with a high-powered rifle from the upper floors of a tall building.

An FBI report says the same source met Milteer following the assassination and asked if he was guessing. The report quotes Milteer: "I don't do any guessing."

The FBI reports were given to the Warren Commission, but apparently the panel assigned little significance to them.

The commission's appendix includes a report by the Secret Service of the investigation of an apparently related incident. The report indicates the Secret Service interviewed a member of the Ku Klux Klan who said less than two weeks before the assassination that "his sources have told him that a militant group of the National States Rights party plans to assassinate the President and other high-level officials."

THE KLANSMAN, who was not named in the report, was in jail at the time awaiting trial on a charge of auto theft. The Secret Service said the FBI believ-

Burrows. Burrows committed suicide in Frankhouser's home in Reading, Pa., in 1965 after the New York Times reported he was half Jewish. Frankhouser declined to talk about any possible link between Oswald and Burrows.

An FBI report compiled two weeks after the assassination quotes Robert K. Brown, then an Army Reserve captain in training at Fort Benning, Ga., as saying that in the spring of 1963 Dr. Stanley L. Drennan, a North Hollywood, Calif., man active in the National States Rights party, spoke of a plan to "get rid of" Kennedy and a number of others. Brown said he dismissed the remark as a "crackpot" comment.

Brown told the FBI that after the assassination he reassessed the conversation and concluded that Drennan may have been trying to recruit him as a possible assassin. If so, Drennan may have been attracted by Brown's anti-Castro sentiments.

The Warren Commission's own staff suggested prior to publication of the final report that speculation about a possible plot by

CONSPIRACY

Continued From E-1

given (estimated) at 5 feet 10 inches, indeed, but not by the authors of the report; rather by a steamfitter named Howard L. Brennan, who had been watching the presidential motorcade roll by somewhere on Elm Street, and who "promptly told a policeman that he had seen a slender man, about 5 feet 10 inches, in his early 30s, take deliberate aim from a sixth-floor corner window . . . ."

Many of the documents or speeches upholding conspiracy theory are the results of people having read badly or hastily, consciously or otherwise. Brennan, who was not the Warren Report, had guessed wrong as to both inches and years. In a poor reading, conspiracy theorists had failed to distinguish between the authors of the book and a character in it.

The continuing conference on conspiracy is a form of education. For that reason, after all, UCLA houses it. If such a conference is not the ideal definition of education it may be transitional to one that is better. Its appeal on the left is directed to students sincerely devoted, as far as they know, to justice and equality. Since they are students they are in the process of learning, and a great deal of their credulity may turn to skepticism even as the proceedings advance.

The better-prepared the student, the sooner his or her skepticism asserts or manifests itself, for the language and mode of the theorists, whether left or right, constantly exposes itself to its own vacancies. In Los Angeles I met students at the luncheon intermission whose belief in conspiracy theory had already dwindled somewhat during the morning.

But many of them are not wholly educated, or have not yet achieved a level of intellectual skepticism and, for this and other reasons, they are willing believers. Often, the young man or woman of the left feels excluded, angry, desperate, unable to participate in the decisions of life as he or she feels entitled to do, still student, still underling, still graded by someone else, unfairly denied the things he thinks he ought to have, including the right to decide the course of the world.

The world itself is a conspiracy to ignore him, defame him, put him down. Under certain circumstances, if he becomes too troublesome (tells too many truths about their rotten system), "they" will punish him, frame him, kill him, dupe him, put a gun in his hand, give him a perch to shoot from, and leave him to his fate.

Whom did Lee Harvey Oswald shoot, after all, but a rich Harvard son of Establishment? Some part of the left theorist finds identity with Oswald, who floundered, tried Russia, floundered, returned, sought exile again and for a moment was the one-man office of the New Orleans chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. And yet to identify too directly with the doomed Oswald is to exclude oneself from the possibilities of the future.

The paradox is enraging, and when one's situation begins to become clear one struggles with supreme energy against any self-revelation which will vault one from certainty to doubt: At the UCLA conspiracy conference I was struck by the volume of laughter that greeted the sarcastic speculation that Fidel Castro (hero) may have been in league with the Dallas Police Department (villain); or, again, that an action of the left on a particular occasion could have resembled an action of the U.S. Marines.

The police, according to this cast of mind, are, at the command of the Establishment, out to murder the young. Such theorists can accept this because at the base of belief . . .

"the attempt to kill Gov. George C. Wallace was a conspiracy . . . a Communist conspiracy. It could well involve agents of Communist China. And the Central Intelligence Agency might have had something to do with it. Here are the facts. Judge for yourself." Bremer was no "lone fanatic," writes Stang, providing many statistics relating to Bremer's life. Stang claims to have "gone into the underground for the facts," although the facts appear to be nothing more than what one may obtain from public record and the newspapers, as Clifford Irving obtained the facts of the life of Howard Hughes.

Real conspiracies have occurred. But not all occurrences are conspiracies. Conspiracy theory explains some things. But the momentum or accident of history explains a great many more.

For America the great danger of conspiracy theory lies in its weak powers of discrimination. Thus, it is easily available for widespread exploitation of anxieties. The worst of the exploitation is not that hucksters make money but that conferences on conspiracy shall replace education, and our whole past shall be warped and denied. Nobody will remember that we are in significant ways a free people. Indeed, we are threatened less, in my opinion, by conscious conspirators than by those defects of both education and media which make conspiracy theories possible in the first place.

The exploitation of paranoia is easy enough. It is an old political and oratorical trick, and anyone can do it whose objectives are sufficiently self-serving. Orators of conspiracy are eloquent. Why not? They are unrestrained by doubts, hesitations or the absence of facts. They have settled upon their theories. They intend to qualify nothing, retract nothing, amend nothing. They charge guilt by association by means of connections from person to person, though the connections may be irrelevant even if true. They are masters of twisted definitions build into their grammar and certain to connect with the ready-made assumptions of their listeners.

The language and literature of conspiracy theory, left and right, is a nightmare of logical fallacy. "Sworn testimony" is not necessarily true testimony. An article in the *Congressional Record* is not necessarily true. An "identification" of someone by someone else is not necessarily accurate — even if the "identification" is made by such a grand-sounding intelligence as "the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate of the United States." Hearsay is not necessarily true. Sarcasm is poor argument. Name-calling is poor argument. Characterization is poor argument.

No person exists named the Establishment, in, for example, "The Establishment is saying . . . . The Establishment believes." No persons exist named They, as in "They won't let the truth come out." For the college generation, suspended between childhood, ". . . They are systematically destroying the evidence."

In adulthood, the yearning to hear the truth is all the more affecting in view of the difficulties of telling it. Truth is not specific and definite, like *The Guinness Book of World Records* — an extremely popular book among college students; as a matter of fact the truth may be dull, complicated and shredded with qualifications, more like the slow roundabout equivocations of older professors. It is not surprising, therefore, that the public lectures students attend, the books they optionally read and the media they consume tend to be those which deliver, above all, straight answers in a positive sound. Mind and body yearn to hear it from the inside, from someone who was there who can therefore, presumably, tell it like it was.

It is not surprising that John Dean was the speaker most in demand on the university lecture cirtuit during the recent season. Close behind Dean, according to the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, come those who deal with the extrasensory UFOs, se fiction . . . series is a fo ment, whose than piously spiracy theor port those ten

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POWER

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him is unsufferable. On the rare occasions when Harry Cohn dined out, he was said to place a telephone book surreptitiously on his chair. "Elevator shoes," which promise an additional two inches in height, appeal to the same insecurity.

Height means something to people, and it's wise not to forget it. The chairman of one great conglomerate is said to have a pedestal behind his desk so that he appears to be about a foot taller than he really is when he stands up to greet somebody, and it . . .

ple are not only anxious to control everything, but determined not to let go of anything. Be this as it may, the use of laxatives seems to increase as power increases, and a good many of the powerful people I know not only suffer from constipation, but discuss it quite openly, as if it were proof of their success, a form of self-imposed suffering. I have seen a motion picture halted every morning at 9:30 so that the director — a man of great fame in the movie business — could go off and fight the daily battle with his recalcitrant bowels. As he left, the cast and the crew wished him success, and on his return he would describe exactly what had happened, or not happened, in graphic detail . . .

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The police, according to this cast of mind, are, at the command of the Establishment, out to murder the young. Such theorists can accept this because at the base of belief must lie the disposition to believe, and many of the persons gathered in the name of the exposure of conspiracy seem to possess their own personal causes, complaints, fears and mental struggles, which they seek to submerge in the abstract, and so dissolve.

* * * *

I asked the proprietor of the Birch Society's American Opinion Book Store in North Hollywood if his shop carried information on conspiracy. He replied, "We got information on conspiracy like you'll never believe." True. I count at least 22 American Opinion bookstores in Southern California, and I understand that more than 400 exist throughout the nation. They serve as the principal gathering places for conspiracy theorists of the right, and as centers for the distribution of their basic books, films and tapes. Of the stores I have been in, each one looks like the others, perhaps because they carry identical stock.

Theorists of the right, unlike those of the left, support their local police while tending to believe that the *federal* police, or military force, is "preparing the way for the end of the United States as a nation." In *Henry Kissinger Soviet Agent,* a book of the right, we are told that "Kissinger and his intellectual colleagues want international order, which would consist of World Government in a World of Disarmament." This is bad. It is "a surrender of nationhood."

The right theorist believes that Kennedy was killed by Communists. A pamphlet, *The Killers: Assassination to Order,* tells us that almost every death of a political person during the last 25 years was "part of a deadly operation managed with great skill by the International Communist Conspiracy." The caption of a photograph showing Ruby shooting Oswald at the Dallas jail explains, "Communist assassin Lee Harvey Oswald was silenced by Jack Ruby, a Castroite who died in 1966 from 'cancer.' Ruby was certain that the disease had been induced. In June 1968 Sen. Robert Kennedy was murdered by Sirhan Sirhan, a Communist trained in assassination at the Qataneh camp outside Damascus."

Alan Stang, in another pamphlet, *Arthur Bremer: The Communist Plot to Kill George Wallace,* asserts that

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POWER

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Height means something to people, and it's wise not to forget it. The chairman of one great conglomerate is said to have a pedestal behind his desk so that he appears to be about a foot taller than he really is when he stands up to greet somebody, and it is rumored that a stockholders meeting had to be delayed because an underling had forgotten to place the pedestal behind the podium. It is certainly true that he likes to have short men around him; one's chances of success at this particular corporation are vastly increased if one is under 5 feet 8 inches in height. Indeed, being tall is dangerous there. The chairman loves to humiliate people who are taller than he is, and sometimes promotes them just so that he can make them suffer. "Big is dumb, short is smart " he once told an executive who had displeased him.

If shortness supposedly spurs us on to power, health is usually taken as a sure sign of having it. Years ago, I remember seeing Robert F. Kennedy walk into a room full of people in Maine, all of them rich and healthy, and noticing that he positively radiated good health and energy. "God!" breathed the woman beside me, "look what power does to you. I wish I had it!"

It is a curious sign of our admiration for power that we associate power and health; in former times, power was popularly supposed to lead to worry, illness, premature aging and baldness, rather like masturbation. Today, we expect the powerful to glow with health, and they mostly do. The successful exercise of power, like a satisfactory sex life, tends to make people feel good about themselves, whatever the real state of their health, and constant excitement tones up the system wonderfully.

Of course power takes its toll too. Erik Erikson has pointed out that Martin Luther, a man with an enormous need and drive for power, suffered all his life from constipation, a misfortune which obsessed the great reformer to the point that his spiritual breakthrough took place while he was sitting on the toilet. Erikson points out that Luther was "compulsively retentive," that he stored up his energies and his knowledge as if aware that they would someday be released in a single, explosive moment, a purgative flash that would at once cleanse Luther himself and the Church.

Odd as it may seem, constipation is often the price of power, even among less titanic figures than Luther, perhaps because powerful people are not only anxious to control everything, but determined not to let go of anything. Be this as it may, the use of laxatives seems to increase as power increases, and a good many of the powerful people I know not only suffer from constipation, but discuss it quite openly, as if it were proof of their success, a form of self-imposed suffering. I have seen a motion picture halted every morning at 9:30 so that the director — a man of great fame in the movie business — could go off and fight the daily battle with his recalcitrant bowels. As he left, the cast and the crew wished him success, and on his return he would describe exactly what had happened, or not happened, in graphic detail. Gradually I came to realize that knowledge of the daily state of his bowels was a kind of status symbol. Think of it: actually being able to force people to discuss this as if it were a subject of fascination. What greater proof of power!

As if that weren't enough, a group of researchers has found that power (and "achievement orientation") correlates very highly with serum uric acid, the substance in the blood that is responsible for gout, and which is considered "a possible risk factor in coronary heart disease." Serum uric acid is high among powerful, successful men, and at its lowest among the unemployed, a depressing piece of information for the ambitious to consider. Blood pressure and serum cholesterol both increase among those who have "responsibility for others" in a working situation, which makes it hardly surprising that nearly 30 per cent of the businessmen who responded to one nationwide survey felt that their jobs "had adversely affected their health."

The kinds of jobs that lead to power naturally involve stress and responsibility, but I strongly suspect that the businessmen who felt their health was affected were simply responding to the "suffering quotient." This is an extension of the Puritan pleasure-pain principle, in which pleasure must be expiated by an equivalent or greater amount of pain, and implies that all power, insofar as it is enjoyed, must be justified by suffering.

The basic proposition is simple — I am not supposed to like power, though it's what I most want, therefore I must pretend that it has been thrust upon me by others against my will; and I must convince everyone around me that it is a painful burden that I'm suffering on their behalf. The feeling is that while it may be all right to have power, it is wrong to *enjoy* it.

Not surprisingly, many powerful people are hypochondriacs. On the one hand, they want to command and control; on the other, they want to be comforted and appreciated. One way of bridging these conflicting demands is to suffer openly, publicly, constantly — to show by coughing, sneezing, groaning, limping and wheezing that they are stretched beyond endurance by the demands of

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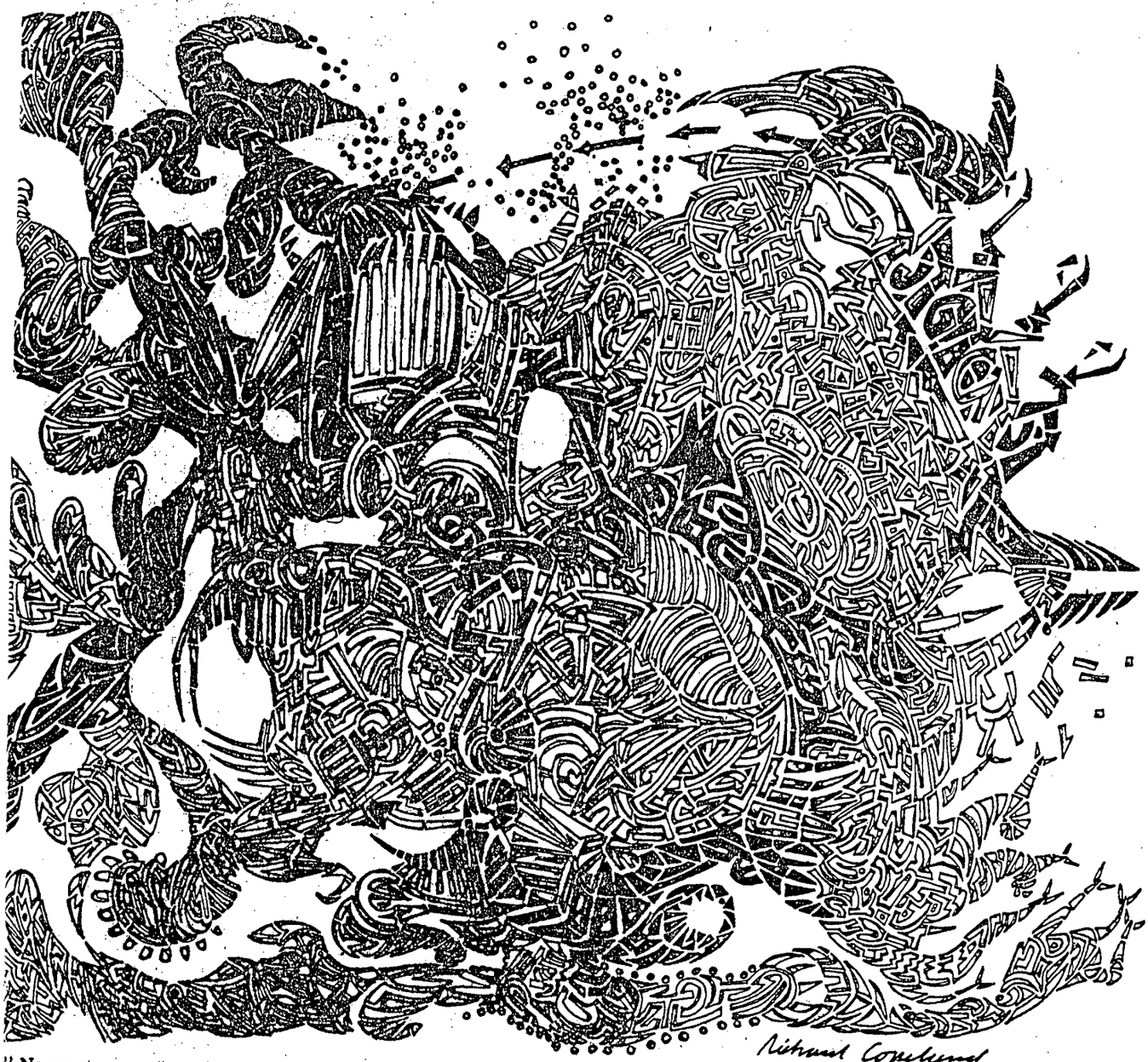

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deal with the occult and witchcraft, extrasensory perception, magic, UFOs, self-defense, science fiction . . . The university lecture series is a form of popular entertainment, whose spokesmen now and then piously condemn reckless conspiracy theory even while they support those tendencies that feed it.

In a great deal of popular drama, especially on television, the line between fiction and non-fiction is badly blurred, if not erased; news is made dramatic and exciting, drama is made to sound true, authentic, factual.

News and drama alike focus upon individuals, seldom upon complicated forces or processes. It is, therefore, natural that young people and others whose experience is limited inevitably interpret events as the result of the actions of powerful individuals. Almost every crisis of television drama is resolved by gunfire or other violence, and every crisis of diplomacy is resolved by the meeting somewhere of powerful persons privately talking. The Hollywood star system prevails. The processes of social accommodation were never so meticulously described as in the motion picture "The Godfather," in which death sentences are pronounced by "somebody, somewhere, in some smoke-filled back room," just as the conspiracy theorists say they are.

Colleges and universities, partly under their own financial pressures, partly in the spirit of democratic participation, increasingly view the student as a customer and give him "what he wants," which is likely to be an easier, simpler interpretation of events — and a better grade for mastering less. But the best defense against a paranoid citizenry may be a sound education in the grammar of those disciplines which fortify the mind against trickery.

The trouble with the mind of the conspiracy theorist left or right is its inability to carry more than one idea at once. It asks laws or principles governing all events, as if human affairs were motions of dumb bodies, but it ignores the one law that might serve — the idea that some things might be true upon some occasions and not upon other occasions. For example, although Watergate was clearly a "conspiracy" to defraud many citizens, the murder of John Kennedy may have been the demented act of one person.

Above all, it ignores the possibility of that mixture of accident and intention that is finally process. We are process. We are complexity. We are the products of our minds, singly and collectively.

Unable to endure slow motion, the mind of the conspiracy theorist is likewise unable to endure uncertainty. We may never know more than we know now of the truth of our several major political assassinations. We may know all that exists to be known, or we may be in the presence of a mystery: Not all crimes are solved, as they are on television.

Finally, it should be said that, despite the pitfalls he leads us into, despite the dangers, or simple discomfort, the conspiracy theorist seems to understand least his own importance. The paranoid contribution to decision must always have been great, integral to process, a noise and a clamor keeping lawmakers from slumbering in town halls and Congress, as children shape their parents, or as students stopped the war in Vietnam. The heat of paranoid instincts or intuitions warms the law with human concern.

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power. For some, it is worth staying in the office all summer simply in order to be able to say, "I never take vacations." It is part of the suffering quotient.

The complaints of powerful people about stress, tension and overwork are mostly bogus, and when they're real, they're self-imposed. It's a form of guilt.

how powerless, the inner sense of worthlessness that made them fear they had no right to be there, and might at any moment be found out, revealed as weak and ordinary men.

George Allen of the Washington Redskins, Nixon's favorite football coach, was perhaps unconsciously speaking for the president when he remarked, "The winner is the only

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individuals, seldom upon complicated forces or processes. It is, therefore, natural that young people and others whose experience is limited inevitably interpret events as the result of the actions of powerful individuals. Almost every crisis of television drama is resolved by gunfire or other violence, and every crisis of diplomacy is resolved by the meeting somewhere of powerful persons privately talking. The Hollywood star system prevails. The processes of social accommodation were never so meticulously described as in the motion picture "The Godfather," in

mind against trickery.

The trouble with the mind of the conspiracy theorist left or right is its inability to carry more than one idea at once. It asks laws or principles governing all events, as if human affairs were motions of dumb bodies, but it ignores the one law that might serve — the idea that some things might be true upon some occasions and not upon other occasions. For example, although Watergate was clearly a "conspiracy" to defraud many citizens, the murder of John Kennedy may have been the dement-

Finally, it should be said that, despite the pitfalls he leads us into, despite the dangers, or simple discomfort, the conspiracy theorist seems to understand least his own importance. The paranoid contribution to decision must always have been great, integral to process, a noise and a clamor keeping lawmakers from slumbering in town halls and Congress, as children shape their parents, or as students stopped the war in Vietnam. The heat of paranoid instincts or intuitions warms the law with human concern.

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power. For some, it is worth staying in the office all summer simply in order to be able to say, "I never take vacations." It is part of the suffering quotient.

The complaints of powerful people about stress, tension and overwork are mostly bogus, and when they're real, they're self-imposed. It's a form of guilt.

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Nor was the Nixon administration unique in this respect. Many of the people we think are powerful turn out on closer examination to be merely frightened and anxious. It is a mistake to assume that the position and the person are the same thing. A man may have money, a great position of authority, but if we notice that his hands are constantly fidgeting on his desk, that he can't look us in the eye, that he crosses and uncrosses his legs as if suffering from a bad itch in the crotch and that when the telephone rings, he can't make up his mind whether to pick it up or ignore it, we can then, I think, safely conclude that he is not a man of power.

However humble our own position, we have a chance of getting whatever it is we want. How often we fail to recognize this, how long it takes us to learn the difference between real and simulated power, what opportunities we waste!

We have to learn to fight subtly, ruthlessly, constantly for our own. As nations carry on diplomacy and war to maintain their own independence, so we too must play the games of power in order to be ourselves, to avoid "being lived by events, rather than living them." What is at stake is our ability to be the person we want to be, rather than being the person others want us to be. What we all want is what Rollo May describes as "sense of significance . . . a person's conviction that he counts for something, that he has an effect on others, and that he can get recognition from his fellows."

Thus, trivial as power games may sometimes seem, they are a means of defining who we are, of preserving both our freedom of action and our ability to effect change. We learn, early on in the schoolyard, that things often go badly for bystanders, that engaging ourselves in events may lead to their turning out in our favor, rather than against us. When you pick up the telephone, write a letter, join in a conversation, you are — like it or not — initiating a game, at the end of which you will either feel pleased with yourself or have the nagging sense that you have somehow been diminished, reduced in significance. Nothing is static; every action makes us more or less than we were before. Even the most mundane office is a place in which to test our power. Every moment in the day offers us the opportunity to try our skills, to enjoy our triumphs, to learn something from defeats — for we cannot always be victorious.

Most of us think power lies elsewhere, in the next office, on the floor above, in the White House, beyond our reach. But it is all around us; we have only to seize it. It does not lie beyond the everyday activities of our lives, but in them.

The feeling is that while it may be all right to have power, it is wrong to enjoy it.

Yet love it we do. In the words of novelist Patrick Anderson, "It's like a woman you want to stay in bed with forever. But that's not all, not for the best people. There's all you can do with power, if you're smart and tough and lucky. You get kicked in the teeth every day, but sometimes there'll be those moments when you've done everything right, when everything breaks your way, and then you're soaring, you've won your game, whether or not anyone else knows it or understands it or even gives a damn."

Perhaps herein lies a key to the difficulty we have in coping with power — it is perhaps the most personal desire we have, since even the intimacy of sex is usually shared with someone else. Power, by contrast, is a private passion, the winning and the losing are internal, only *we* can know whether or not we've won our game.

* * * *

"Power!" says the Rev. John J. McLaughlin, the controversial Jesuit who was a deputy special presidential assistant, and seemed to function as chief exorcist to the defunct Nixon White House. "What do we know about it? We don't know anything about it. We have sex education — why don't we have power education? You can train yourself to handle power." True enough, though one wonders, judging from Father McLaughlin's support for such temporal matters as the Christmas bombing of Hanoi, the mining of Haiphong and the president's stand on Watergate, whether he himself is able to perceive the difference between what he describes as "two views of power . . . an opportunity for an ego-trip, and an opportunity for service."

We don't in fact know much about power. No sooner had the scandal of Watergate been revealed than sermons began to appear on the evils of power, as if the White House under Richard M. Nixon had been the palace of Nebuchadnezzar. Yet what was Watergate but an example of the price of impotence? The rationale for the burglary — and all that followed from it — was insecurity and envy, the baffled fear on the part of the president and his assistants that even *in* the White House they were somewhere individual who is truly alive. I've said this to our ball club. Every time you win, you're reborn; when you lose you die a little."

But power is not based on winning all the time. A man who has to win every battle is asking the impossible of himself and the world, and is likely to collapse the first time he encounters defeat. A powerful man, by definition, is able to survive failure and humiliation, to draw some deeper wisdom from them, to practice what John F. Kennedy called "grace under pressure."

The essence of power is the ability to cope with the demands of life, not to react like a paranoid at every real or imagined threat, or waste one's life and energy trying to submit everything to one's own control. The world is a disorderly and dangerous place, and always has been, and the man of power must learn to live in it comfortably. It is one thing to have a sense of order, but quite another to impose that sense of order on the rest of the world — no amount of power is sufficient for that, and one can only fail in the attempt. We can only control others to a limited degree, and the world is full of men who seem powerful in their little world, but are in fact chained to their desks like galley slaves to the oar. On and on they labor, far into the night, because they fear one moment of inattention or hesitation will undermine their power.

One could see these traits in former President Nixon — the joylessness, "the endless struggle for control," the compulsive need to be "on top," the tortured attempts to disguise even small defeats as victories of some kind, the endless pleas for sympathy and understanding, the feeling that life is nothing but a tough challenge, in which hard work and the will to win count for everything.

It is not power — perhaps not even the abuse of power — that is at the root of the White House horrors. "The thing that is completely misunderstood about Watergate," said former White House special counsel Charles Colson, "is that everybody thinks the people surrounding the president were drunk with power . . . But it wasn't arrogance at all. It was insecurity. That insecurity began to breed a form of paranoia. We overreacted to the at-

Paranoia (or Is It Conspiracy?) in Our Midst

By Mark Harris

As time passes history flattens, as if photographed with a telescopic lens. Unrelated events seem to merge. A network of connection extending from the Texas School Book Depository in 1963 to the Watergate in 1972 gains plausibility daily; persons and agencies appear and reappear as if the two crimes were of the same order, committed by the same hands and whitewashed by the same confederates — *John Connally, riding in the 1961 Lincoln convertible with John F. Kennedy, signaled to the window above (Connally was later indicted for bribery after switching party affiliation from Democrat to Republican), brought down the gunfire, and was eventually found innocent by a commission including Chief Justice Warren, who was appointed to the Supreme Court by President Eisenhower on the recommendation of then-Vice President Nixon, thus paving the way for Nixon's victory over the Warren forces in California, his subsequent winning of the presidency prior to Watergate, and his eventual appointment of Gerald Ford to the presidency. Ford, then representative from Michigan, was a member of the Warren Commission!*

* * * *

A conference called "Conspiracy in America" was held at UCLA upon the occasion of the first anniversary of the killing of six members of the Symbionese Liberation Army associated with Patricia Hearst of good family. Several hundred people attended. Most of them were college students or of student age; many were of good families, and their political direction was clearly left.

The conspiracy conference was one of several recently assembled, and it promised, in California and elsewhere, "follow-up meetings . . . attempting to mobilize a national movement against the developing police state" in America. "From Dallas to Watergate: Official Violence and Cover-up" — A Campaign for Democratic Freedoms Conference. Films. Panels. Workshops on Assassinations. Intelligence. Community/Labor Repression."

Mark Harris is a novelist and professor of English at the University of Pittsburgh.

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The first person I met was a young black man at a table in the corridor collecting signatures for a petition in his own defense. He had been accused of murdering a policeman. Since he seemed to me so sweet and gentle, I could not believe he had committed murder, and I signed his petition.

Inside the auditorium, I was soon swept up by orators and visual demonstrations emphasizing the theme that Lee Harvey Oswald (if he was involved at all) was only one of several conspirators in the murder of John Kennedy. The proof seemed to lie in the fact that various documents showed a discrepancy in Oswald's height. One speaker said that "the Warren Report gave" Oswald's height as 5 feet 10 inches. I knew Oswald wasn't that tall and I thought that, if the Warren Report were that wrong, perhaps we were onto something, after all.

Afterwards, I noticed in the Warren Report that Oswald's height was

See CONSPIRACY, E-4

JFK

Continued From A-3

President when he came to Dallas," Coleman and Slawson said. "Perhaps 'double agents' were even used to persuade Oswald that pro-Castro Cubans would help in the assassination or in the getaway afterward.

"The motive on this would of course be the expectation that after the President was killed Oswald would be caught or at least his identity ascertained, the law enforcement authorities and the public would then blame the assassination on the Castro government, and the call for its forceful overthrow would be irresistible. A 'second Bay of Pigs Invasion' would begin, this time hopefully to end successfully.

"The foregoing is probably only a wild speculation, but the facts we already know are certainly sufficient to warrant additional investigation," the memo concluded.

The anti-Castro section takes up just five pages in the Coleman-Slawson memo. Most of the rest of what amounts to a legal brief on the possibility of a foreign involvement in the assassination analyzes Oswald's relations with the Soviet Union.

IT CONCLUDES that although some details of Oswald's two-way defection to the Soviet Union are suspicious, the evidence supports the conclusion that the Soviets were not involved.

Oswald would not be very good agent material, Coleman and Slawson said, because his open pro-Communist sympathies would guarantee that he would be closely watched. Besides, they said, the Russians would have little motive to kill Kennedy because they were sophisticated enough to know that the replacement of Kennedy by Lyndon B. Johnson "would not result in any significant change in American foreign policy towards the Soviet Union."

Schweiker has said repeatedly that the weakest part of the Warren Commission's final report is its failure to provide a convincing motive for Oswald to kill the President. He has said his investigation will attempt to fill that void.

Both pro-Castro and anti-Castro Cubans would seem to have a motive.

ANTI-CASTRO Cubans were angered at Kennedy for what they considered insufficient support for the Bay of Pigs invasion. And the Coleman-Slawson memo adds another possible motive — hope to drum up support for a new invasion.

As for pro-Castro Cubans, Coleman and Slawson said, "Simple retaliation, for example, is a motive which must be thoroughly considered in dealing with Castro."

Presumably, Coleman and Slawson meant retaliation for the Bay of Pigs because the CIA did not tell the Warren Commission or its staff about what are now known to be agency-backed attempts to kill Castro. Schweiker has said the failure of the CIA to provide the commission with information about the plots to murder Castro was an important omission.

Evidence of a possible pro-Castro conspiracy seems to have been more throughly investigated by the Warren Commission than evidence of a possible right-wing connection.

SCHWEIKER insisted that all possible theories will be explored. But he said he was interested in a possible involvement by domestic right wing groups because he said it appears that the FBI gave such a theory short shrift.

In 1967 the Miami News carried a long account of a tape-recorded conversation between a police informant and an organizer for the States Rights party who had predicted Kennedy's assassination.

The Miami News account did not name the party member, but Schweiker said he has proof that the man was Milteer. The conversation related in the newspaper seems to be the same one summarized in the FBI reports on Milteer.

According to the account, Milteer said Kennedy would be shot with a rifle smuggled in pieces to the top of a high building. Milteer also was quoted as predicting, "They will pick up somebody within hours afterwards . . . just to throw the public off."

Oswald was arrested shortly after the killing. He insisted he had killed no one but was being used as a "patsy." The Warren Commission discounted Oswald's contention as the usual self-serving remark of a man charged with a serious crime.

SCHWEIKER pointed t another of the informant' recorded comments whic the senator said may be more significant than it appeared at the time.

The police informant said, "He (Kennedy) will have a thousand bodyguards. Don't worry about that."

"The more bodyguards he has, the easier it is to get him," Milteer replied.

The Warren Commission received evidence that several policemen were shown Secret Service credentials in the vicinity of the assassination scene at a time when no real Secret Servicmen were there.

Schweiker theorized that if there was a conspiracy, the conspirators might have used forged Secret Service credentials. In such a situation, the more real bodyguards, the better, because the fake Secret Servicemen would be less conspicuous.

Joseph Kraft

CIA: The Assassination Hot Potato...

The Senate investigation into CIA assassinations is running into the sands of confusion. That is the immediate meaning of the subpoena issued the other day for new access to President Nixon's tapes and papers. The larger meaning is that even the most responsible authorities are unwilling to acknowledge that some issues are too delicate and complex for the rights and wrongs to be settled by mere investigation.

The starting point of the assassination muddle is President Ford. He made it known—in an offhand way that verges on irresponsibility—that the CIA had been involved in assassination plots against foreign leaders. When an outcry arose, as it was bound to, he assigned investigation of the matter to the Rockefeller Commission looking into domestic improprieties by the CIA. The implication was that the Rockefeller Commission would get to the bottom of the assassination business.

In fact the commission went an inch deep and then stopped for lack of time and staff. So Mr. Ford passed the issue to a select Senate committee headed by Frank Church (D-Idaho), which was looking into the appropriate organization of the intelligence community.

At that time, Mr. Ford said that he "did not want to be a Monday morning quarterback" on the actions of past Presidents. The only reasonable inference was that past Presidents were mixed up in the assassination business and that the Senate committee would make a definitive judgment on their role.

The committee did undertake a full-scale investigation, using a large and competent staff with access to the most privileged material. It examined

The CIA at home...

By Auth for the Philadelphia Inquirer

...and abroad.

sponsibility. He refused, miraculous to say, television hearings that would have been a socko sensation and made his name a household word. He worked closely with opposition senators, notably John Tower of Texas, to produce unanimous decisions.

His one impropriety was to say that the CIA had behaved as "a rogue elephant." No doubt that put the case too

of willful, knowing ambiguity—a transaction where neither party wanted to know too much of the other's actions. Rather than merely say that, he is bowing out by demanding, through subpoena of the White House, documents from the Nixon presidency which are relevant to the Schneider killing.

The language of the subpoena

plumbed, if any loose ends remain untied, the White House can be blamed.

Turnabout is fair play, and President Ford is only getting now what he asked for when he handed the committee the assignment in the first place. But it is too bad somebody can't say flatly that ultimate responsibility for the assassinations probably can't be

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The committee did undertake a full-scale investigation, using a large and competent staff with access to the most privileged material. It examined the actions of all the post-war Presidents and all the well-known assassination attempts.

It even went into one episode that was not an assassination attempt. That was the shooting of the Chilean chief of staff, Gen. Rene Schneider, in 1970, as part of a bungled effort to stage a kidnapping that would provoke a military coup against the Allende regime.

In handling the investigation Sen. Church behaved with exemplary responsibility. He refused, miraculous to say, television hearings that would have been a socko sensation and made his name a household word. He worked closely with opposition senators, notably John Tower of Texas, to produce unanimous decisions.

His one impropriety was to say that the CIA had behaved as "a rogue elephant." No doubt that put the case too strongly. What the senator meant was that the committee inquiry, despite the comments of the President and Vice President, did not find there was clear presidential responsibility for all the actions taken by the CIA in the assassination area.

But even Sen. Church could not admit that the bureaucratic interplay between a President and a secret intelligence agency was inevitably a matter of willful, knowing ambiguity—a transaction where neither party wanted to know too much of the other's actions. Rather than merely say that, he is bowing out by demanding, through subpoena of the White House, documents from the Nixon presidency which are relevant to the Schneider killing.

The language of the subpoena strains for effect. It refers to gas masks and machine guns, presumably passed by the CIA to those who did the killing. It requests tapes from a time when tapes were probably not being made. It refers to a highly sensitive special file of Nixon papers that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger says he didn't even know existed.

The upshot of the subpoena is to throw the hot potato back to the White House. Now if any secrets remain unplumbed, if any loose ends remain untied, the White House can be blamed.

Turnabout is fair play, and President Ford is only getting now what he asked for when he handed the committee the assignment in the first place. But it is too bad somebody can't say flatly that ultimate responsibility for the assassinations probably can't be pinned down.

That way, all officials could get round to the serious business of writing new guidelines and establishing new machinery for command and control over the CIA. In the bargain there would be a little dent made in the populist myth that some kind of fix is always in, and that all the country's problems can be solved if only there is a tough investigation of the bad guys.

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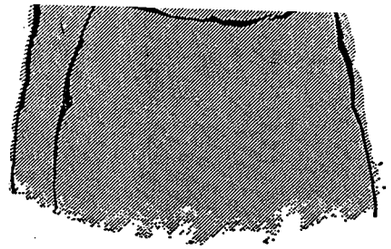
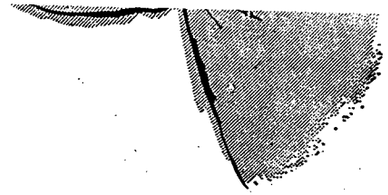


The CIA at home...



By Auth for the Philadelphia Inquirer

...and abroad.

Jack Anderson

...And a Return to the Shadows

The Central Intelligence Agency may come out of its penitent period with its powers and privileges still intact.

The calls for reform have produced more promises than changes. Abuses have been halted, but the causes have gone uncorrected.

All the while, the CIA has been slipping back into the shadows. The scandal-weary public is tiring of sordid spy stories. The investigations on Capitol Hill are running out of steam.

Sensing that the worst is over, CIA chief William Colby is trying to put the lid back on. President Ford has joined him in warning that the investi-

Instead, he confronted the CIA's civilian watchdogs. "Something is gravely wrong inside the CIA, and I intend to find out what it is," he proclaimed. "I cannot afford another Bay of Pigs."

He personally attended many of the civilian advisory board's secret sessions and helped to fashion reforms that were imposed upon the CIA. He charged his brother, Robert, with the responsibility to see that the reforms were put into effect. The younger Kennedy shook up the agency from top to bottom.

Yet throughout the very throes of these reforms, the CIA used the

called before the board for questioning. The sessions have always been sober but sympathetic, with the sodality that characterizes gentlemen who share grave secrets.

Participants have assured us that they have often pressed reforms upon the CIA. But apparently, these have been more structural than substantive. The CIA officials always listen solemnly to their civilian advisors. Thereafter, the officials call meetings, issue directives, move the furniture around and otherwise create the impression that changes will be made. And then they quietly return to their same old routines.

way of reform, in other words, he would put the emphasis not on correcting CIA abuses but on keeping them out of the newspapers.

Certainly he can argue that the CIA would not be under fire today if he had already possessed this extraordinary power. The abuses would have gone unpublished, uninvestigated and, therefore, uncorrected.

The Rockefeller Commission, if it isn't willing to go quite as far as Colby, comes perilously close. The commission wants to make it a "criminal offense for employees or former employees of the CIA willfully to divulge

of staff, Gen. Rene Schneider, in 1970, as part of a bungled effort to stage a kidnapping that would provoke a military coup against the Allende regime.

In handling the investigation Sen. Church behaved with exemplary restraint. He refused to exploit the sensational revelations that the CIA had been involved in assassination plots against Castro and other foreign leaders.

But even Sen. Church could not admit that the bureaucratic interplay between a President and a secret intelligence agency was inevitably a matter of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger says he didn't even know existed.

The upshot of the subpoena is to throw the hot potato back to the White House. Now if any secrets remain unpulse [illegible] ways in, and that all the country's problems can be solved if only there is a tough investigation of the bad guys.

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Sensing that the worst is over, CIA chief William Colby is trying to put the lid back on. President Ford has joined him in warning that the investigations could impair the collection of vital intelligence.

Colby contends that the chastened spy agency won't again overreach its legal limits. There is nothing wrong with the CIA, he insists, that the right indoctrination and discipline can't cure. Once the authorities on high define the agency's mission with a little more clarity and lay down the dictum that abuses won't be tolerated, promises Colby, the CIA can be counted upon to operate within constitutional constraints.

I have talked with Colby, and I am sure he means this. In my opinion, he will work within the CIA to make it a better, more responsible agency.

Yet it was only 14 years ago that the CIA went through another upheaval. The blunder of all CIA blunders was the Bay of Pigs invasion. President Kennedy was so angry after the fiasco that he threatened "to splinter the CIA in a thousand pieces and scatter it to the winds."

Instead, he confronted the CIA's civilian watchdogs. "Something is gravely wrong inside the CIA, and I intend to find out what it is," he proclaimed. "I cannot afford another Bay of Pigs."

He personally attended many of the civilian advisory board's secret sessions and helped to fashion reforms that were imposed upon the CIA. He charged his brother, Robert, with the responsibility to see that the reforms were put into effect. The younger Kennedy shook up the agency from top to bottom.

Yet throughout the very throes of these reforms, the CIA used the Mafia to make several attempts on the life of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro. And the worst excesses of the CIA, including the illegal spying on American citizens, occurred during the next 10 years.

Now the Rockefeller Commission is prepared once again to rely on a "strengthened" civilian advisory board to make the CIA behave. The Rockefeller reformers would grant the board full powers for "assessing the quality of foreign intelligence collection."

There is something dismayingly familiar about this. Back in 1961, the board was reformed with powers, according to the old charter, to "conduct a continuing review and assessment of foreign intelligence activities."

In other words, the board has always had the powers Nelson Rockefeller so piously would now bestow upon it. He should be aware of this, since he has served on the board. He should also be familiar with its history of acquiesence [illegible] he CIA.

[illegible]eriodically, CIA officials have been called before the board for questioning. The sessions have always been sober but sympathetic, with the sodality that characterizes gentlemen who share grave secrets.

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The cozy relationship between the watchdogs and the watchees is exemplified by the board's executive secretary, Wheaton Byers. My associate, Jim Grady, asked him for the phone numbers of board members so we could solicit their comments.

Byers indignantly refused, saying we wrote a "scurrilous" column that printed classified information. Evidently, he considered the phone numbers of the members classified, since he refused to give them out. We reached several of them anyway; with rare exception, we found them as protective as Byers toward the CIA.

This seems to be the attitude of everyone close to the CIA. They agree with Colby, who wants to make it a crime for newsmen to publish classified information. The legislation he has in mind, of course, would authorize the CIA director to determine what should be classified.

This would give the nation's spy chief total censorship power over all news [illegible] comes out of the CIA. As his way of reform, in other words, he would put the emphasis not on correcting CIA abuses but on keeping them out of the newspapers.

Certainly he can argue that the CIA would not be under fire today if he had already possessed this extraordinary power. The abuses would have gone unpublished, uninvestigated and, therefore, uncorrected.

The Rockefeller Commission, if it isn't willing to go quite as far as Colby, comes perilously close. The commission wants to make it a "criminal offense for employees or former employees of the CIA willfully to divulge to any unauthorized person classified information pertaining to foreign intelligence or the collection thereof obtained during the course of their employment."

If the CIA is to regain the trust of the people, it must allow more, not less, light on its activities. No other nation has been as successful as the United States in maintaining a free society. It requires a powerful spotlight to expose the abuses that threaten our freedom.

Footnote: The Rockefeller Commission has also come out, four sqaure, against domestic spying. But the recommendation leaves a handy loophole which permits a little benign spying if there should be "a clear danger to Agency facilities, operations or personnel." Of course, this was precisely the rationale used by the CIA to begin its illegal domestic spying in the first place. What the CIA needs, clearly, is a tough new charter spelling out the rights and wrongs of intelligence operations.

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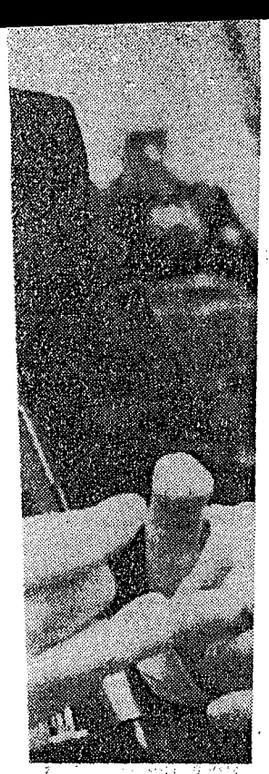


Associated Press

nstruction chief.

Carey with several crimes including forgery, larceny and embezzlement.

Gov. Marvin Mandel, who appointed Carey to his post as executive director of the state Interagency Committee for Public School Construction in 1971, suspended Carey without pay from the post this afternoon after learning of the indictments.

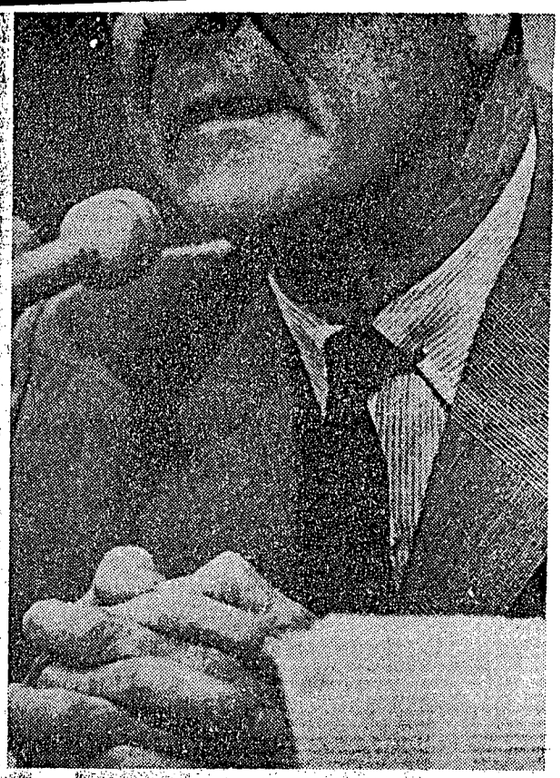
In a brief written statement, Mandel said he was "distressed and stunned by the seriousness of the charges in the indictments"—the first brought against an official of his administration.

The indictments grew out of a special state investigation of Carey's handling of the $6 million state portable classroom program last March, after several newspapers, including The Washington Post, raised questions about Carey's direction of it.

These questions concerned Carey's relationship with the two firms that were awarded the state portable school construction contracts, trips Carey took to Florida at the expense of one of the firms and $230,000 in sales commissions on the state work paid to two long-time friends of Carey.

In a letter sent to Mandel today, Norman Ramsey, chairman of a special state panel supervising the investigation, told the governor that the "investigation is not yet approaching completion." Sources close to the panel said that the probe of Carey's

See CAREY, A6, Col. 1



By James K. W. Atherton—The Washington Post

Former CIA counsel Lawrence R. Houston testifying.

Opposition pper House

INDIRA GANDHI
. . . hears criticism

Parliament Mrs. Gandhi gave no indication how long the emergency would last, but said: "Nobody wants this type of situation to last forever."

Mrs. Gandhi also said, even if the emergency is lifted, "There can be no return to the pre-emergency days of total license and political permissiveness."

Mrs. Gandhi, in a speech that provoked a brief uproar in the lower house, claimed

See INDIA, A16, Col. 1

6,940 Took Drugs; Army Still Testing

By Bill Richards
Washington Post Staff Writer

A top civilian drug researcher for the Army said yesterday a total of 6,940 servicemen have been involved in chemical and drug experiments run by the Army and that the tests are still going on at Edgewood Arsenal in northeast Maryland.

Dr. Van Sim, civilian medical director at the Edgewood test facility and head of the research program, said he turned over all the names of those involved in the program to the House Armed Services Committee and to military officials yesterday.

Sim said the testing of LSD was halted by the Army in 1967 but that some two dozen other drugs—ranging from alcohol to hallucinogens—have continued to be used in tests on servicemen at the facility.

"We have a program and it is continuing," Sim said. "We are testing all types of drugs and chemicals and will continue to do so because it is important to the national security of this country."

Sim's statement is the first acknowledgement that Army testing of drugs on humans is still going on. The National Research Act of 1974, which prohibits some types of human experimentation with drugs by government agencies, does not apply to the military.

An Army spokesman declined to comment on Sim's figures and said a complete tally of all those involved in drug experiments is being compiled. Last Friday the Army said it had tested LSD on 585 servicemen between 1959 and 1967 and about 900 civilians were involved in Army sponsored LSD tests between 1956 and 1959. There was no mention in the announcement of any other type of drug testing.

Sim said the 6,940 figure on the number of people involved in the Army's experimentation programs in various drugs covers only servicemen. He said he has no idea

RFK Called Upset By CIA-Mafia Ties

By Lawrence Meyer
Washington Post Staff Writer

Former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy was "perturbed" when he learned in 1962 that the Central Intelligence Agency and the Mafia were working together, but he appeared indifferent to their aborted plot to kill Cuban Premier Fidel Castro, a former CIA official said yesterday.

Kennedy was angry at the CIA's involving itself with the Mafia "because at the time he was very strong on crime-busting," former CIA general counsel Lawrence R. Houston told reporters. When Kennedy was briefed on the plot to kill Castro, Houston said, "he didn't seem very perturbed about Castro. At least, he didn't say anything."

What Kennedy did say, according to Houston, was, "If you're going to have anything to do with the Mafia again, come to me first."

Houston, the CIA's chief lawyer for 26 years until his retirement in 1973, appeared before a House subcommittee yesterday to answer questions about a 20-year agreement between the CIA and the Justice Department that let the CIA decide when its personnel should be prosecuted for breaking the law.

Although questions of possible illegal conduct should have been referred to him under CIA procedures, Houston testified, he learned recently of several illegal activities carried on by the CIA.

Houston's comments about the aborted Mafia-CIA plot to kill Castro in 1960-61 represented the fullest public account yet made.

Houston said he approached the Justice Department when one of its investigations into an associate of Mafia figures Sam Giancana and Johnny Roselli threatened to reveal the plot. By that time, April, 1962, the plot had been aborted by unknown officials in the CIA, Houston said.

He said he had been told the plot to kill Castro was shaped in 1960, although

See HOUSTON, A2, Col. 3

nt Control

legislative days before it becomes law. With Congress on the verge of a summer recess until after Labor Day, it is not expected that a permanent bill could become law until late October, Mrs. Winer said.

By permitting some landords an automatic 5 per cent ise in rents after 60 days, esterday's emergency bill incorporates a key provision of he proposed permanent bill, hich is scheduled for final ouncil action next week.

Both the emergency bill and

Propelled by ri
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White House press
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Gasoline prices ros

See ECONOMY, A5,

Hathaway

Interior Secretary
Bethesda naval hos
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mission he helped draft the report. "We said that Lee Harvey Oswald was the assassin," the President recalled, "We said that the commission had found no evidence of a conspiracy, foreign or domestic."

The Rockefeller commission report on the CIA said in June that it found no credible evidence of CIA involvement in the Kennedy assassination.

In other developments, Nessen said that the President's invitation to Russian writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn to meet him at the White House was open despite the writer's criticism of the President.

Solzhenitsyn was quoted by The New York Times yesterday as charging that Mr. Ford would be participating in "the betrayal of Eastern Europe" by attending the 35-nation meeting on European security in Helsinki next week.

The Nobel prize winner said he saw no point in meeting the President in view of Mr. Ford's support of the security agreement, The Times said.

Questioned about the security agreement to be signed at the Helsinki conference after two years of negotiations, Nessen said the agreement "in no way legally settles the borders in Eastern Europe." It obligates the signers not to change borders by force but to make any changes by peaceful means, Nessen said.

Critics of the agreement, which the Soviet Union has long sought, have charged that it in effect ratifies Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.

Administration officials, denying this, are expected to em-

30 Die in Crash

Agence France-Presse

CULIACAN, Mexico, July 22—At least 30 people were burned to death near here yesterday when they were trapped in a bus which caught fire after a collision with an automobile.

Martin Hoffmann to Be Named Army Secretary

President Ford yesterday announced that he would nominate Martin R. Hoffmann, general counsel of the Defense Department, to be Secretary of the Army.

If confirmed by the Senate, Hoffmann would succeed Howard H. (Bo) Callaway, who resigned earlier this month to be chairman of the President's re-election campaign.

Hoffmann, 43, is a former special assistant to the Secretary of Defense and a former legal counsel to Sen. Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.). He also served as general counsel of the Atomic Energy Commission.

A native of Stockbridge, Mass., Hoffmann is a graduate of Princeton University and the University of Virginia Law School.

After service in the Army he was an assistant U.S. attorney here and later was associated with the University Computing Co. of Dallas.

The White House also announced that Mr. Ford plans to nominate two new under secretaries—James A. Baker III of Houston, in the Department of Commerce, and Edwin H. Yeo III of Sewickley, Pa., in the Treasury Department.

Baker, 45, is a lawyer who has been a partner in a Houston firm since 1967. Yeo, 41, a native of Youngstown, Ohio, will serve as under secretary of the treasury for monetary affairs. He is now vice chairman of the Pittsburgh Corp. and Pittsburgh National Bank.

President Ford also announced that he plans to nominate James D. Isbister to head the new Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration.

Isbister, 38, has been serving since 1974 as the acting administrator. Before that he spent a year in London as an academic visitor at the School of Economics and the United Kingdom Medical Research Council.

He held posts with the National Institute of Mental Health from 1967 to 1973, serving for three years as its deputy director.

Isbister, a native of Mt. Clemens, Mich., lives in Potomac, Md.

Later the White House also announced Mr. Ford's intention to nominate:

• Robert E. Patricelli, Simsbury, Conn., to head the Urban Mass Transportation Administration. He held policy-making positions at the Health, Education and Welfare Department during the Nixon administration.

• Asaph H. Hall, acting chief of the Federal Railroad Administration since last year, to permanent status.

• John H. Holloman, a Jackson, Miss., lawyer, to be a member of the Federal Power Commission. He was chief lawyer for the Senate Judiciary Committee from 1967 to 1973.

• Austin N. Heller, New York, to be assistant administrator of the Energy Research and Development Administration.

Witness Says CIA-Mafia Tie 'Perturbed' RFK

HOUSTON, From A1

how it got started was "a little vague" and he said he did not know who ordered it.

When the discussion came up, Houston said, the head of the CIA's Office of Security, Col. Sheffield Edwards, said, "I've got a fellow with some interesting contacts." That person, Houston said, was Robert Maheu, a former FBI agent and then an associate of billionaire Howard Hughes. Either through Maheu or by him, contact was made with Roselli, Houston said. The first contact was made by persons purporting to represent business interests so Roselli would not know he was dealing with the CIA, Houston said.

Ultimately, however, the plan to kill Castro — which was to have been coordinated with the Bay of Pigs invasion — was called off. Houston said he was not aware until recently that the plot had been reinstated after his conversation with Robert Kennedy.

Houston's account was heatedly denied by Herbert J. Miller Jr., assistant attorney general in charge of the Criminal Division in 1962 and a friend of Robert Kennedy.

Miller said he talked to Houston but never about a plot involving the CIA and the Mafia. Nor did he accept Houston's statement that Kennedy had been told. "If Bob Kennedy had known about some plot to assassinate Castro involving the CIA and the Mafia, he would have told me about it and I know damn well he never told me about it," Miller said. "It just couldn't happen that this would come up and he wouldn't tell me. It just couldn't happen."

In answer to questions from Chairman Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) and other committee members, Houston testified that he learned only recently of several illegal CIA activities—including opening mail and conducting domestic surveillance against American citizens.

Under a 1954 agreement, the CIA was allowed to determine when to tell the Justice Department of violations of law by its employees. Abzug said the agreement, which apparently was forgotten by the Justice Department until last December, was "improper, probably illegal and certainly a dereliction of duty" by the department.

Abzug released a letter from the current CIA general counsel, John S. Warner, giving brief descriptions of 20 cases that were referred to the Justice Department by the CIA for consideration between 1954 and 1975.

One case, according to the letter, "involved a murder which took place outside the United States. Allegations were made that two agency employees helped dispose of the body. The (deputy chief for intelligence) discussed the case with the Attorney General in October, 1955. The Attorney General's office did not take any action 'due to the legal jurisdictional restrictions involved.'" No further details of the incident were immediately available.

The subcommittee also heard testimony from Deputy Assistant Attorney General Kevin T. Maroney, who spent 19 years in the Justice Department's Internal Security Division and now is involved with others in the department's inquiries into the CIA and the FBI.

Asked if he did not have a "problem" investigating agencies with which he had worked, Maroney denied knowing that any information he received had been illegally obtained. "When the Attorney General acts," Maroney said, "he'll know my background. If that's a problem, I assume he'll take it into account."

Bavarian Maneuvers

Agence France-Presse

MUNICH—July 22—The West German army announced today that 53,000 soldiers of the Bundeswehr and 9,400 U.S., French and Canadian troops will join in maneuvers in Bavaria Sept. 15 to 19.

much better."

Hathaway went to see President Ford on July 15 to tell him he was not feeling well, Nessen said. The President sent Hathaway to White House physician Dr. William M. Lukash, who suggested that he go to the Bethesda naval hospital. He was admitted to the hospital at 4:30 that afternoon.

Doctors and Interior Department aides suggested that the unexpectedly rough Senate confirmation battle may have played some part in Hathaway's illness. Hearings dragged on for almost six weeks in May and June before the Senate confirmed him by a 60-to-36 vote on June 11.

During the hearings, senators attacked Hathaway's record on environmental issues. They said that he had allowed unregulated strip mining in Wyoming and had sided with industry over environmental concerns.

At one point, Democratic members of the Senate Interior Committee forced Hathaway to concede that a statement he had issued praising his environmental record was not always balanced or accurate.

As a popular Republican governor of Wyoming, aides said, Hathaway was unprepared for that kind of sharp questioning.

"I don't think there was anything in his background to

the outer continent coal leases on publ

His aides said t way worked long h department and to reading load home trying to get on to tant issues.

In his statement issued through th Department, Hath he has been visit hospital by his f close friends and t conferred with aide

The hospital said that Hathaway "is p well and is in s condition."

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